McCarran's Christmas Carol—*an Editorial*

THE *Nation*

January 3, 1953

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PENTAGON POLITICS

Generals into Business Men

BY COLONEL WILLIAM H. NEBLETT

*

A Plea for Heretics

BY ALEXANDER MACBEATH

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California's Central Valley Project

The New Struggle for Control

BY DAVID G. FARRELLY

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Longshoreman's Story

I AM one of the longshoremen who work on the water front in the port of New York. Everybody from the governor down to the man on the street has had something to say about me. I think it's about time you heard the longshoreman's story from a longshoreman. It's a pretty grim story, but I think you may understand us better after you have read it.

The best way to show you the conditions I work under is to take you along with me as I do my day's work. At 7:50 a.m. the hiring boss blows his whistle for the morning "shape-up." I've been working on this pier for sixteen years, but that does not mean I'm going to work today. Every day of my life I must answer the shape-up whistle, for on the docks you are hired by the day. When the five o'clock whistle blows you are out of a job and must be rehired the next day. Would you office and factory workers like that? Would you like to stand in the street in front of your office or factory every day of your life and wait for a hiring boss to come out and tell the crowd who was going to work and who wasn't?

TODAY I'M LUCKY. The stevedore boss needs three gangs to load cargo, and I'm assigned to one. According to the union contract a normal gang consists of twenty-two men—four deckmen, eight holdmen, six dockmen, two stringpiece men, and two chauffeurs. Working as a unit, the group can handle an amazing amount of cargo in eight hours. The dockmen load the slings and nets. The chauffeurs, driving diesel trucks, keep them supplied with cargo. The holdmen stow it as it is lowered into the ship's hatch. The deckmen give the winch operator his signals, and the stringpiece men handle the lines.

The gang I'm in is assigned to work the No. 2 hatch. As we walk down the pier to board the ship I look my companions over. Most of the faces are familiar, but there are three men that I immediately recognize as "jumpers." As the word implies, jumpers are aliens who have jumped ship and are in the United States illegally. What burns us longshoremen up is the fact that these foreigners compete with us for work and that the people who bring them in make a highly profitable business of it. I believe, though I have no proof, that a powerful underground organization handles the arrangements for these men. It gets them off the ship and houses them in tenements near the piers. Then it sends them out to the shape-up to compete with us regulars for work.

A COUPLE of months ago the United States immigration men, looking for aliens, raided some of the piers just as the shape-up was about to start. They picked up over a hundred, one of whom had been in the country only three days. Of the eleven hundred men shaping up on five piers that day, one hundred were aliens here illegally.

Each "jumper" kicks back $25 a week out of his pay. For a hundred jumpers that comes to $2,500 a week. Also the organization usually owns the tenements the men are housed in, and it collects $5 a week in rent from each man. In addition it collects for the cost of getting him into the country and for all incidentals. Since there are more than seven hundred piers in the port of New York, you can see that bringing in jumpers is pretty lucrative.

When we arrive at No. 2 hatch, the hatch boss, who is there waiting for us, tells us we are to load scrap iron. This is hard and dangerous work. If you have never loaded scrap from a wallowing lighter moored to the offshore side of a ship in 25° temperature you don't know what work is. The three "jumpers," with four other men and myself, are ordered to go down on the lighter and put the scrap into a big bucket lowered to us from one of the ship's booms. Since it is scrap, we will do it by hand. If it were what is called heavy stuff, a huge magnet would pick it up and lower it into the hold, where the rest of the gang would stow it. I know I am assigned to this job as punishment because the hiring boss and the hatch boss suspect me of having been active in the recent strike.

At noon I hurry to one of the restaurants across the street for a sandwich and a couple of cups of coffee. Then I head down the street to the money lender's office. If you work on the pier that I am on and want to borrow money, you go to this certain guy. You might say he has the money-lending concession for the pier. I want to borrow $100 from him in order to pay some bills that I ran up while I was on strike. For that $100 I borrow I will pay $10 a week, and I intend to repay the principal at the rate of $25 a week. The first week I pay him $10 interest and $25 on the principal. The second week $7.50 interest and $25 on the principal, and so on. So the money lender in the end has made $25 on a $100 loan that existed for only one month.

A couple of minutes after 1 p.m. I go over the side of the ship and climb down to the lighter. For four more hours I tug and haul scrap to the bucket, and then the day is done. Wearily I walk off the pier, my work gloves in shreds, my overalls and pea-jacket torn. The next morning at 7:50 I must answer the shape-up whistle again and hope for work. The jumpers will be there too, and the money lender will be in his office down the street.

THOSE ARE just a few of the difficult working conditions I must put up with. There are others, such as staying clear of the dope ring and the gangsters that struggle for control of the pier. At the moment the honest longshoreman's only hope is that the probe of the water front undertaken by the states of New York and New Jersey will succeed in bettering some of these conditions. It will be a tremendous step in the right direction if the investigation does only one thing—gets rid of the hiring boss.

On the West Coast they have substituted a hiring hall with rotation of work among the men, and the system has proved highly successful. Why can't the East Coast longshoremen have the same system? We are waiting, not too hopefully, for the probers' answer to this and many other water-front problems.

HOWARD VASSAR

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THE Nation

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The Shape of Things

Stalin's Statement

Although surely aware that no decision on new negotiations with Russia would be made until after President-elect Eisenhower was inaugurated, Prime Minister Stalin apparently decided to take advantage of the interregnum to raise again the question of bilateral negotiations. The timing was excellent. Since Russia's rejection of the Indian resolution on Korea in the General Assembly, the prospect for peace has been darker than ever and public opinion has been the more eager for some new approach. Those who believe the interview can be dismissed as the same old propaganda should note the space the New York *Times* gave it the following day—fourteen columns on different pages. The statement's emphasis on bilateral negotiations between the United States and Russia should not obscure the fact that on several occasions during the last two years Moscow has proposed a Big Four conference. Stalin can therefore reasonably expect that his suggestion of a talk with Eisenhower will increase the desire of London and Paris to be included in any conversations. One is reminded again of the possibilities open to Russian diplomacy if Moscow should finally decide to give up its habit of one day encouraging the Western world and public opinion by a conciliatory gesture and the next day dashing the hopes thus aroused.

Let's Test It

The best way to end the speculation as to the meaning of Stalin's offer to meet with Eisenhower is to arrange such a meeting. What better way is there of finding out what the Russians really want than by sitting down with them around the conference table. It can be safely assumed that the American negotiators would protect American interests.

Those who dismiss the offer by saying that if Stalin desired peace he had ample opportunity to bring it nearer by accepting the Indian proposal on Korea may have jumped to the wrong conclusion. What the Russians may be seeking is an opportunity to get a number of issues settled, using a possible Korean agreement as bait. To this end they want equality of bargaining power. In the U. N. they are outnumbered ten to one—a fact that cannot be ignored, even though their own tactics are largely responsible.

Since Russia, like the rest of the world, has nothing to gain by war, we can assume it wants peace—on certain terms. Are these terms and ours reconcilable? Can a bridge be built between them? This is the basic question. A direct inquiry is the surest method of producing a satisfactory answer. Past efforts having obtained no result; the incoming Administration would be well advised to examine this invitation with great care. A meeting held neither in Moscow nor in Washington might improve the chances for reaching a negotiated settlement. Even a meeting which did not achieve this end could hardly fail to clarify the situation in a way that would make it possible to relate American policy more directly to the intentions of the Soviet Union.

Business Men into Generals

President-elect Eisenhower's selection of four top business leaders for major Pentagon appointments suggests that just as generals can easily be restyled nowadays as business men (see page 6 of this issue), so business men feel very much at home in the swivel chairs of the Pentagon. Robert M. Kyes, the new Deputy Secretary of Defense (No. 2 spot), is vice-president of General Motors; Robert Ten Broeck Stevens, who will be Secretary of the Army, heads one of the nation's greatest textile firms; Robert Bernerd Anderson, Secretary of the Navy, is general manager of the W. T. Waggoner estate, a fabulous half-million-acre Texas ranch and oil empire; and Harold E. Talbot, Secretary of the Air Force, has been chairman of the board of North American Aviation. Outside the Pentagon, Marion B. Folsom, who is to be Under Secretary of the Treasury, is the treasurer of Eastman Kodak Company, while Randolph Burgess, appointed special assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury, is chairman of the executive committee of the National City Bank and director of several giant corporations.

The new team is so patently of, by, and for big business that General Eisenhower's daring in selecting it has startled even Wall Street. "This is not just business,"

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writes Sylvia F. Porter in the New York *Post*, "it's Big-Big Business. These aren't just industrialists. These are industrialists out of the top drawer. . . . We've never had anything quite like this before." It is of course rather frightening to realize that the "front men" are departing and that the real bosses of American business are now moving into undisputed and unconcealed control of things in Washington. "It can be terrific," one Wall Street financier remarked to Miss Porter, "or it can be the worst calamity ever to befall the conservative concept of private enterprise. Right now, I'm not saying, I'm just praying." And, she adds, "he didn't smile as he spoke."

The People Pace the Politicians

Huge majorities in the pottery-making city of Delft and the Frisian market town of Bolsward voted for a United Europe in the poll sponsored by the Netherlands Council of the European Movement on December 17. In Delft 75 per cent of 39,000 eligible voters cast their ballots and of these 93 per cent voted "yes" to the proposition favoring "a United Europe under a European government with a democratic representation, all of this to be laid down in a European constitution." In Bolsward 88 per cent of 4,000 eligible voters participated in the poll and of these 97 per cent favored European unity. For a month before the polling the issue was debated in the schools and public forums of the two towns, which were selected because they are thought to represent a political cross-section of the Netherlands. All political parties except the Communists indorsed the poll.

The Netherlands is now the second country to make such a test, the West German towns of Castrop-Rauxel and Breisach having voted about 96 per cent in favor of a similar proposition. The next poll will be held in France. The pre-election campaign in the Netherlands took on the flavor of an American campaign. One cheese dealer displayed a window sign stating that a United Europe would be more successful than the Netherlands alone in bargaining with the United States over cheese-import restrictions. Another merchant posted a sign comparing the number of hours required to produce certain articles in the United States and in Europe, to show the advantage of a wider market. The people seem to be well ahead of their statesmen not only in the degree of their enthusiasm for a united Europe but in their desire to pool their resources, achieve an integrated market, and bargain collectively with the United States.

The Attack on Public Power

The movement under way in California to have the state buy the Central Valley Project (see page 12 of this issue) is only one of several similar schemes for weakening the public-power and river-valley policies of the

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New Deal. In the Northwest there is much discussion of a proposal to form a public corporation to take over federal power installations, with the governors of the states involved naming the directors. In recent talk about the St. Lawrence Seaway it has been frequently suggested that a state agency should be used to distribute the power. In each instance the effect if not the purpose of such proposals would be to create new opportunities for the private power interests to undercut the policies of Franklin Roosevelt and Harold Ickes. Last June, Senator Paul Douglas warned that "the Central Valley of California may become the burial ground for reclamation policy." And it is a fact that the Department of the Interior has been yielding more and more to the pressures of the large landowners and private power interests concerned with this project. Every sign now points to an attempt by the private-power lobby to make a "sneak raid" on existing public-power projects after January 20, when former Governor Douglas McKay of Oregon, a strong "states' rights" advocate, will become the new Secretary of the Interior.

A Phony Proposal

The case against California's purchase of the C. V. P. is based on many practical as well as policy considerations. The power rates on the basis of which the state engineer made a finding that it would be "feasible"—he did not say desirable—for the state to take over the project were around 7 or 8 mills. The C. V. P. is currently selling to "preference customers"—that is, public agencies, at around 5 mills. The Bureau of Reclamation has just completed a forty-year contract with the Sacramento Municipal Utility District which will permit reductions, below current rates, of about 17 per cent to Sacramento power users. State acquisition would almost certainly be used to scuttle the 160-acre limitation on land ownership.

The proposal is such an obvious "phony" that despite its indorsement by the state Chamber of Commerce and the Farm Bureau, neither Governor Earl Warren nor Senator William Knowland has shown much enthusiasm for it. The real intentions behind the scheme may be found in an item in *Business Week* of May 13, 1944, laying out in detail the future delaying tactics which would be used by the interests seeking to repeal the 160-acre limitation. The blueprint prescribed four methods—direct repeal, use of the Army Engineers as the operating agency, use of the state of California as the operating agency, use of deep-well pumps at the expense of small farmers and the public. The article then went on to say that the suggestion that the state take over the project originated "among the big landowners of Fresno County" and that its purpose was to sidestep the 160-acre limitation.

The Bonn-Madrid-Buenos Aires Axis

The Nazis enter the New Year in high spirits. In West Germany they have revised their tactics and instead of aiming at a premature reorganization on a grand scale have decided to infiltrate the parties of the right. The results are impressive. Encouraged by the strength of the new nationalism, men who until now have worn a democratic mask are throwing it away. On November 21, at Bad Ems, a speaker electrified an audience with the words: "The day will come when Prussia in a reconstituted Reich will fulfil its duty of saving the civilization of Western Europe!" This new defender of the Prussian state was no less a person than Minister of Justice Dehler of the Adenauer government. In Verden, Lower Saxony, General of Aviation Ramcke accepted the salute of 5,000 former S. S. members with the remark: "I am proud of having been on the list of war criminals."

In Madrid one of the many officers of the Gestapo welcomed by Franco at the end of the war presided over a reunion of Nazis living in Spain. He developed the following line of thought: The United States is now only interested in the mobilization of all available men against Russia. It is our hour. Let us close ranks behind Generalissimo Franco and General Eisenhower. The Caudillo was always our friend; Eisenhower was our enemy, but the alliance between them is the best thing that could happen to the Fatherland.

In Buenos Aires, Colonel Rudel, another officer of Hitler's army, has created a Nazi group that includes the notorious S. S. leader Colonel Skorzeny. There is an intimate and constant association between the Nazis of the three capitals, and on New Year's Eve they doubtless drank an identical toast: Heil Hitler! Prosit Neujahr!

Among Ourselves

With the beginning of this year Keith Hutchison, long *The Nation*'s financial editor, retires from that post and from the editorial board, to spend the greater part of his time in independent writing. He is now at work on a book on Anglo-American relations.

Fortunately Mr. Hutchison will continue his connection with *The Nation* as a staff contributor, writing editorials and signed articles on subjects within his wide and important field. He is at present preparing two articles on Canada which will appear in early issues.

We are happy to announce at the same time the addition of two names to the list of contributing editors: H. H. Wilson, a member of the Department of Politics of Princeton University and author of "Congress: Corruption and Compromise," and W. Macmahon Ball, professor of political science at the University of Melbourne, formerly British Commonwealth member of the Allied Council for Japan, and author of "Japan—Enemy or Ally?"

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McCarran's Christmas Carol

ONCE upon a time children used to be told that, if they were bad, Santa would fill their stockings with ashes. To 269 naughty French sailors, denied permission to go on shore and spend Christmas with their friends while their ship, the Liberté, was in dock, the "Christian" Senator from Nevada, Pat McCarran, must seem an equally unnatural Saint Nick. For it is to this right unjolly old elf, and the act conceived in spite and born in infamy named after him, that they owe their detention.

The Immigration Service had no alternative under the act, which came into effect most unseasonably on Christmas Eve. Two of the sailors admitted Communist Party membership and were barred automatically. One had a "criminal record"; he had stolen bread from the Nazis during the occupation. He too was excluded until frantic calls to Washington secured his admission. The remaining 266, interviewed while the liner was crossing the Atlantic offended, as one of their union representatives put it, by standing "on their rights as free men not to reply to the questions."

These are rights of a kind that once seemed of vital importance to Americans. Indeed, at almost any time in our history the passage by a foreign country of legislation which subjected the crews of American vessels to similar treatment would have aroused impassioned protests in Congress. Until we became "top nation" we were the foremost champions of freedom of the seas, the preeminent defenders of the traditional rights of seamen, which include the right of liberty on shore while in port.

Arriving in New York after a visit to South American ports, where, we imagine, he was treated with every courtesy, Senator McCarran gave out a statement attacking all critics of his act, the sole principle of which, he claimed, was "the best interests of the United States." If properly enforced, he said, the act would "screen out the subversives and undesirables who would constitute threats to our national security." That is extremely unlikely: any really determined and intelligent spy should be able to evade the screen by equipping himself with papers showing an impeccable anti-Communist record. But in any case, whatever additional security the act may give, this benefit is likely to be far outweighed by the ill-will it is creating abroad.

So far, official foreign protests have been relatively mild, although they are growing stronger. Press comments in responsible European papers, however, reveal that in many countries bitter resentment has been aroused. The great voice of British liberalism, the Manchester *Guardian*, a strongly anti-Communist paper and one normally extremely friendly to the United States, describes the McCarran act as "a scandalous piece of illiberalism, in flat repudiation of every decent tradition of American history." It adds that "it would be a just retaliation if every American visitor to Europe were to be put through an interrogation by ham-handed officials like those at American ports. Nothing has done more to spread distrust of American intentions and to mock all American fine words than the impertinences inflicted on foreigners under the act."

We do not expect that the government of Britain or that of any other Western European country will move hastily toward retaliation. The unattractive doctrine of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" is seldom a good principle of policy; moreover, for economic and other reasons Western Europe is reluctant to "get tough" with the United States. Yet if the McCarran act and the 120,000 word revised manual of the Immigration Service based on it prove as administratively complicated and irritating as we expect, if incidents like that of the Liberté seamen recur, if the new President, who has publicly criticized this legislation, does not take early steps to revise it, then the pressure of public opinion may force European governments to move from protest to action.

FEW Americans realize the indignities and inconveniences to which persons intending to visit this country have been subjected in recent years—and which seem likely to be intensified by the McCarran act. Procurement of an American visa frequently depends on satisfactory responses to an elaborate inquisition conducted by officials who are far more afraid of sins of commission than of omission. For every doubtful alien excluded, probably a dozen or more persons of good character are insulted.

Americans visiting Europe seldom have similar experiences. If they did, if they were told by British or French officials that the regulations of which they complained exactly followed American practice, if just a few were held incomunicado on some European Ellis Island while leisurely bureaucrats examined their cases, enough indignation might be aroused to force reconsideration of our visa and immigration policies.

Of course it will be argued that European countries have abolished visas and in other ways smoothed the way for American visitors because they wish to encourage the tourist trade. But even if we do not have this economic motive, we should surely, in view of our ostensible championship of unrestricted social and cultural intercourse, and our criticism of the Iron Curtain, seek to minimize travel barriers. Already the United States is the hardest of Western nations to enter. Rigorous enforcement of the McCarran act threatens to make it a forbidden land, almost in the same class with Tibet and the U. S. S. R.

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Thunder in the Air

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations

THE first session of the General Assembly ended as it had begun, with an acid debate on Korea. In the last twenty-four hours, working uninterruptedly through Saturday and Sunday until five o'clock Monday morning, it approved a number of important resolutions, most of which had been passed in the various committees.

One of the longest discussions in this last stage was on the Uruguayan-Bolivian resolution approving the right of nations to nationalize their industries and natural resources without specific guaranty of compensation to private investors. In this space last week I stressed the exceptional importance of that move as a sign of the increasing determination on the part of less developed countries to control their economy and national destiny. An Indian recommendation that states exploit their natural wealth "with due regard to maintaining the flow of capital in conditions of security" was accepted in an effort to soften American opposition. But it did not succeed.

The United States delegation, which had been alone in voting against the resolution in the Second Committee, won three allies in the final balloting—Great Britain, New Zealand, and South Africa. But that did not silence criticism of American intransigence among the other delegates. It was even increased by the revelation made in that session by the Costa Rican delegate: he asserted that the president of a big company—unnamed—had cabled directly to Latin American delegates who had favored the resolution in the Economic Committee warning them that their countries would receive no new business if they persisted in their attitude and the resolution was finally adopted. (The company official must have dreamed he was prime minister of a world government!)

Then came the debate on prisoners of war. The atmosphere had been supercharged by a speech by Senator Alexander Wiley on December 16. Discussing the admission of new members, the Senator, already conspicuous because of his vociferous demands for a still more radical purge of the United Nations personnel, delivered the most violent anti-Russian speech heard at the U. N. in years. He accused the Soviet Union of trying to kill the United Nations and practically identified himself with those who believe the United Nations would be better off if the Russians quit it. A Western European delegate observed: "This speech by Senator Wiley was a violent one, but we are used to strong language in this Assembly. Certainly Mr. Vishinsky has not been exactly a model of diplomacy, but with all his abusive language, he is not in a position to do to the United States what the United States can, with its usual majority, do to Russia: creating the Little Assembly, diluting the power of the Security Council, and at will defeating all Russian proposals, good or bad. Sometimes it looks as if they would like to drive Russia out. But Russia realizes the mistake it made in quitting the Security Council at the beginning of the Korean war and will not repeat it." The idea of ousting the Soviet Union was directly advocated by Senator Tobey, Republican and member of the Foreign Relations Committee, on his return from Europe just the other day.

Senator Wiley is reported as convinced that the policy of "strength" is winning the cold war and that the only thing required is to get still tougher. He would profit from reading Walter Lippmann in the New York *Herald Tribune* of December 23: "The Eisenhower Administration is now facing the hard fact that the cold war is going badly, perhaps worse than the Eisenhower headquarters realized last summer."

It was in this already heated atmosphere that Andrei Gromkyo demanded before adjournment that the United States be condemned for the "mass murder" of Communist prisoners. The emotion aroused some days earlier by the news that eighty-four prisoners had been killed in a riot did not win Mr. Gromyko any votes outside his own bloc. The Soviet demand was rejected forty-five to five. Ten Asian-Arab states which abstained would undoubtedly have supported a resolution expressed and defended in more moderate terms. Thus the Russians were again isolated on an issue which, strictly on its merits, might have won strong minority support.

The heat of the discussion left the air full of thunder. The period between now and the convening of the Assembly's second session on February 24 will probably be occupied with news and rumors about a new American offensive in Korea. Bombing of the mainland, blockade of the coast, use of Chiang Kai-shek's forces may inflict great damage upon China but will hardly bring about a dependable truce. Even if the Chinese and North Koreans were driven beyond the Yalu River they could wait there for six months or for one or two years, and then strike again. The assistance promised them by Russia under the terms of the Sino-Russian treaty of 1950 would help them resist any ultimatum.

In the prevailing uneasiness the effect of Stalin's interview, published in the New York *Times* of December 25, could not but be profound, despite its dismissal in official circles as just another "propaganda trick." Two things are important in Stalin's statement: first, its indication of his preference for discussion at the "highest level"; and, second, its reaffirmation of the Russian view that Korea is not an isolated issue but one phase of the problem of ending the cold war. The demand for a Big Four conference will now come again to the fore.

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Generals into Business Men

BY WILLIAM H. NEBLETT

THE old five-percenter may be fading away, but a new type of influence man has appeared in his place—the retired general or admiral who has been promoted from four stars to a six-digit income. These men quit the service, with full retirement pay, at the peak of their usefulness to Uncle Sam to take high posts in key defense industries. What makes them so valuable to the companies now employing them is that they not only know on whom to put the finger in getting government contracts but often themselves selected the man for the job. Ex-General A, now hired by a munitions maker to handle his "interests" at the Pentagon, does not have much difficulty in convincing General B what he should buy when General B is a former subordinate or friend, or even just an acquaintance who owes his job to him.

Perhaps the most-publicized general-turned-businessman is Douglas MacArthur. General MacArthur is still the most influential man in the army, and as long as he can sign his name or lift a phone, Remington Rand will be in defense business in a big way. MacArthur's salary is said to be $100,000—this in addition to the $19,531.84 the taxpayer gives him every year in retirement pay. A whole bevy of MacArthur's retired colleagues, though not so adept at public relations as the old master, have done even better than this. For example, Brehon B. Somervell, ex-head of the Army Service Forces, who acted during the war as chief purchasing agent for the army and air force, is now president of Koppers Company and a director of the Carborundum Corporation and several other big concerns. All these companies are munitions manufacturers. They made fat profits during the war and with Somervell's "connections" in the Pentagon should be doing even better today. The $125,000 that Koppers is said to pay him is probably well spent.

Nor should International Harvester, the Metropolitan Body Company, American Steel Foundries, Universal Oil Products, or the International Harvester Company of Canada find it hard to get contracts in Washington. During the war these companies sold the Ordnance Department well over three billion dollars' worth of war material in one form or another. At present they are

all using the services of Levin H. Campbell, war-time Chief of Ordnance.

One of the most interesting switches from olive drab to pin stripe was made by Leslie R. Groves, a three-star general who headed the Atomic Bomb Project from its inception until 1946. During that period he frequently testified before Congressional committees that atomic weapons made conventional weapons as useless as a crossbow. Understandably, the small-arms manufacturers did not take this kind of talk too kindly. To put a stop to it and to keep their orders from being canceled one of the biggest of them hired Groves away from the army. He is now vice-president of Remington Rand, selling the government the type of equipment he branded several years ago as obsolete in an atomic age.

The air lines, which are heavily subsidized by the government because of the vital role they play in national defense, and the airplane manufacturers, whose livelihood depends largely on government orders, have obtained their share of ex-Pentagon brass. George C. Marshall is a director of Pan-American Airways; Pan-American also has John Towers, ex-head of the navy's Bureau of Aeronautics, who was responsible for building up the navy's air arm during the war from 2,000 to 39,000 planes. Towers receives $20,000 as Pan-American's special representative to the Pentagon and $16,000 in retirement pay. Ira C. Eaker, former commander of the Eighth Air Force in Europe and Deputy

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COLONEL WILLIAM H. NEBLETT, air-force reserve (ret.), for many years a law associate of the late Senator William Gibbs McAdoo, resumed the practice of law in Los Angeles after six years' service in World War II as air-base commander, member of General MacArthur's staff, and staff officer in the Pentagon. This article is based on a chapter of his forthcoming book "Pentagon Politics."

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Chief of Staff for Air, is now vice-president of the Hughes Tool Company and general manager of its affiliate, the Hughes Aircraft Company. Another corporation benefiting from the services of a man who knows his way around the Pentagon is the Oerlikon Tool and Arms Corporation, now headed by Kenneth B. Wolfe, retired three-star general.

Ex-General Joseph T. McNarney is president of Consolidated Vultee Aircraft Corporation; according to the September, 1952, issue of *Fortune,* McNarney "knows Convair's best customer, the Pentagon, as few others do." A look at his record bears this out. On his return from Europe in 1946—he had succeeded Eisenhower as Supreme Commander of American Forces in Europe—McNarney did a stint of duty at Wright Field as head of the Air Force Materiel Command. He then went to Washington as chairman of the National Defense Management Committee, a post he held until he became chief military assistant to the Secretary of Defense. This was one of the most important jobs in Washington: he could approve or turn down any recommendation sent to the department by any branch of the service; every piece of legislation dealing with military affairs passed across his desk; allocation of the money appropriated by Congress for weapons and equipment was in his hands. A man who has wielded such power is worth his weight in contracts to any munitions maker.

McNARNEY happens to be one of the men who won "the battle of the B-36" in 1949. Before the Korean war the services were engaged in a bitter controversy over the claim of the air force that its strategic bombers, without resorting to the A-bomb, could destroy any nation that might attack us. As a result Congress launched what became known as the "B-36 investigation." In the end the air force convinced Congress and with McNarney's aid pushed through its program.

It is said authoritatively that the strategic-bombing theory championed by McNary and General Hoyt Vandenberg, chief of the air force—who assured President Truman that the Far Eastern air force could bomb North Korea off the map in a matter of weeks—greatly influenced Truman's decision to intervene in Korea. Unhappily, it was their prediction, not the North Korean aggression, that was blown sky high. Advances in anti-aircraft weapons during the last decade have made long-range bombing a costly way of fighting. There are no published figures for how many air-force planes have been lost in Korea through ground fire, but there are for navy planes. On March 28, 1952, testifying before the House Appropriations Committee on the 1953 navy budget, Vice-Admiral John H. Cassidy said that during the first nineteen months of the Korean conflict 99.7 per cent of the navy's planes that were destroyed were shot down by anti-aircraft batteries. Some of these, according to published reports, were equipped to fire the trailing rocket, the deadliest anti-aircraft weapon yet developed. Pursuing its target at a speed of up to 2,500 miles an hour and piloted by an electric eye and gyroscope, the trailing rocket has been 100 per cent effective against bombers of the B-36 type. Russia learned about it from the Germans as we did and has put it into mass production; we have not. Although McNarney is now retired, he still has great influence, which he can use to sell the airplane his company manufactures—the B-36.

An easy shift from one swivel chair to another has been made by Ben Moreell, organizer of the navy's Seabees. He is now on the pay roll of the Turner Construction Company of New York and the Jones & Laughlin Steel Company, two concerns which got a large slice of the ten billion dollars' worth of contracts awarded by him between 1941 and 1946.

Many other ranking military and naval men have made the switch from buyer to seller, but the examples cited give the picture of the new breed of lobbyist who does not have to hang on to a Congressman's coat tails to get what he wants since he has a direct pipe line to the heaviest spender in the world—the Defense Department. The most obvious danger offered by the generals turned lobbyists is much like that caused by the activities of the five-percenters—increased military costs due to the lack of competitive bids. Perhaps the American taxpayer can afford these sums. But what will be the cost of having a military man in the White House? Can there be any doubt that the Defense Department will get whatever it demands in the way of appropriations? Since 1941 industry—in fact, the whole economy—has become more and more dependent upon government orders. When the Republicans nominated General Eisenhower for President they knew he could be counted upon to keep their arms factories working. His victory may insure prosperity for the munitions makers, but for the country as a whole the price may be staggering.

Proposals for Peace—II

OSKAR LANGE

IN MY opinion the priorities for peace are as follows:

1. Immediate cessation of all wars now going on: immediate cease-fire in Korea, with all questions under dispute, including that of repatriation of war prisoners, to be settled afterward by special international commission—any further loss of lives in that unnecessary war is entirely unjustified; cessation of military operations in Viet Nam and Malaya and negotiation based on the principle that all peoples have the right to national independence.

2. End of the cold war and restoration of mutual

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confidence and cooperation: immediate cessation of the arms race, in particular, abandonment of the rearmament of Germany and the remilitarization of Japan; general reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic arms under effective international control; ratification by all countries of the Geneva protocol prohibiting bacteriological warfare; a peace pact between the five great powers to help reestablish the confidence of the peoples of the world in the future and restore the effective operation of the United Nations.

3. Speedy solution of the outstanding international problems causing tension, in particular, conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and withdrawal of the occupation forces; admission of China to the United Nations as the first prerequisite of a solution of the problems of Asia; recognition of the aspirations of the peoples of North Africa and of other colonial territories for national freedom.

4. Restoration and expansion of normal trade relations between all countries irrespective of their economic and social system, particularly, restoration and development of East-West trade. Experience has shown that countries with a capitalist economy and countries with a Socialist economy can cooperate to their mutual advantage. Such cooperation, moreover, may help to relieve the fear current among business men in some countries that depression and mass unemployment are the only alternative to the arms race. The International Economic Conference in Moscow showed that economic cooperation among all countries, whatever their economic and social system, can provide the advanced industrial countries of the world with orders and employment for a long period to come. The same conference also showed that Western business men are ready to take advantage of expanded trade opportunities provided they are free to do so and are not hampered by political restrictions imposed by considerations of cold-war strategy. Restoration of East-West trade is essential for the solution of the chronic economic difficulties of the West European countries and of Japan.

5. Restoration of normal contacts and cooperation among all countries, irrespective of their economic and social system, in all fields of cultural activity—science, literature, art, music, etc. This would help develop mutual understanding among nations.

I take this opportunity to wish a Happy New Year to your readers and to all peace-loving Americans. May the desire for peace which animates the great majority of the American people prove effective and bear fruit for the mutual benefit of all of us.

[*This is the second of a series of statements solicited from "opinion-molders" in many countries, offering specific proposals for bringing peace to the world. Oskar Lange is rector of the School of Planning and Statistics in Warsaw, member of the Diet of the Polish People's Republic, member of the Committee for the Promotion of International Trade, Honorary Vice-President of the World Federation of United Nations Associations, former Polish ambassador to the United States, and former head of the Polish delegation at the United Nations.*]

Indonesia: Camping in No Man's Land

BY HANS KONIGSBERGER

THE new Republic of Indonesia—three thousand miles of islands stretching from Singapore to Manila, with one-fourth the area and one-half the population of the United States—has for two months now been the scene of political disturbances. They began on October 17 when a mob broke into the Parliament building in Jakarta. During the next days tension mounted, and finally Parliament was sent into recess. Then came several bloodless military "coups" in which junior officers seized command of divisions in the outlying islands. Parliament has now reconvened with the primary intention of passing a bill for general elections, the first to be held in the country. Also the Cabinet has been reshuffled and several high army and defense officials have been dismissed with a view to allaying the dissatisfaction.

To simplify an extremely confused situation, the recent disturbances are symptomatic of the basic conflict that is developing in all the newly free Asian nations. It is a conflict between two schools of thought. One is gravely concerned about the stability of the state and wants to make the evolution from a colonial past as painless as possible. The Indonesian Cabinet in the main thinks this the prime necessity and is supported by the military leaders. Parliament, however, takes a different view. Disregarding the pressing political and economic problems, its members are determined to complete the revolution against colonialism immediately, at any cost. A similar attitude is found in the army among the former guerrilla fighters against the Dutch, who resent the discipline and aloofness of the new, academy-trained officers.

Too many Americans and other Western observers look for the same basic division in the East that they see

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in the West. In every conflict they try to find out which side is pro-Communist and which anti-, and who are the agents of each. It is difficult for them to conceive of a struggle along entirely different lines. Americans are puzzled by the Indonesian situation because they view it with eyes that are too Western, because they do not realize the indigenous nature of the conflict. Indonesia cannot be called progressive, or revolutionary, or communistic, or anti-American, for these categories are too Western to fit the native political currents. The only thing in Indonesia which is sharply divided into red and white is the flag. Efforts to picture the country in such simple terms can do little justice to the complex reality.

The paraphernalia of modern government have been prefabricated in the Western world and are eagerly imported by a country which finds itself newly independent amid highly developed competing powers. But they are office furniture and nothing more. Yesterday Indonesia was a colony whose only raison d'être was to provide wealth for another nation. From this political non-existence it is a long climb to a position of responsibility in the warring world. Indonesian statesmen of a single generation must face the problems of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Roosevelt, and Truman. They must direct the course of a country which has endured ten years of war and occupation, which has a population that is 90 per cent illiterate, and which still has to fight against local famines, epidemics, and rebel guerrillas. The office furniture is the latest model, but the business itself is thoroughly un-Western.

INDONESIA is surpassed only by the United States and Russia in natural resources. It made Holland rich for three centuries. The Japanese knew the value of its rubber, oil, tin, sugar, tea, and coffee and quickly overran the islands after the fall of Singapore. The interregnum between the Japanese capitulation and the return of the Dutch gave the nationalist movement its long-awaited chance, and on August 17, 1945, the independent republic was proclaimed. Four more years of fighting and negotiating were to pass before the last Dutch newspaper omitted the quotation marks from "Indonesian republic." Sovereignty was formally transferred in December, 1949.

Not long afterward a well-informed executive of the Dutch Shell interests in Indonesia said to me, "This country is headed for complete chaos within the year." He had witnessed the economic confusion and incompetence and believed these spelled doom for a nation as for a business. Nevertheless, the republic survived. It was saved by the very looseness of structure that seemed to indicate an early collapse. The incredibly wide gaps between different agencies of authority prevented the failure of one from dragging down the others. A clog on one wheel, on ten wheels, did not stop the machinery. There was room and to spare for mistakes.

It is vital to Indonesia that the process of national crystallization go on unhindered by external affairs. The present government knows better than its predecessors that preoccupation with domestic affairs must be almost absolute; this conviction brought it to power. The Sukiman Cabinet fell on February 23 last after publication of an agreement between Foreign Minister Subardjo and Ambassador Cochran that Indonesia would receive American dollars in accordance with the provisions of the Mutual Security Agency. The agency rephrased its usual terms and demanded that Indonesia promise simply to "contribute to the strength of independent and sovereign nations," not to "the defensive strength of the free world." But the condition was still not mild enough. The Foreign Minister's "good piece of business" harmed interests which were more vital than solvency. Subardjo had to resign, and although the other ministers dissociated themselves from his action, the Cabinet fell with him. The new Prime Minister, Mr. Wilopo, and his seventeen colleagues are all men who have come out for what President Sukarno calls "occupying the no man's land between the opposing camps." Parliament passed a vote of confidence on this policy by an overwhelming majority, which included the Moslem, the Nationalist, and the Communist parties.

A policy of neutrality is not inspired by necessity alone. Indonesia views the world more objectively than do most countries of Western Europe. The politicians of the West, like those of the Communist world, feel they must paint the world in two colors only. The Indonesian politician rejects such a picture and the choice it invites.

Nothing illustrates the position of the Indonesian government better than its view of the Korean question. Although Indonesia is a member of the United Nations, the government sees no moral issue at stake. "Two power blocs," it says, "are testing their strength in Korea." Indonesia recognized Mao Tse-tung as a matter of course—a vast majority of its two million Chinese inhabitants are pro-Mao and often of dual nationality. An unofficial American suggestion that Indonesian observers inspect the PW camps was ignored because, among other reasons, North Korea had not joined in making it.

When President Quirino of the Philippines recently visited Indonesia, he was the first head of state to set foot in the republic. Many words of friendship were spoken, but there was silence on Quirino's pet project, a Pacific pact. The Indonesian newspapers, both left and right, had made it clear before his arrival that the country's entry into such a pact was unthinkable. Camping in no man's land suits the Indonesians' mentality. Nor are they lonesome there, for India is with them.

The principle of *Rukun,* compromise, is a vital point of Moslem law. Indonesia tries to make it a political reality in the struggle between East and West.

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A Plea for Heretics

BY ALEXANDER MACBEATH

FOR three centuries the English-speaking peoples have prized and, with occasional lapses, practiced what Milton called "the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue." This freedom has seemed so thoroughly established that people have tended to take it as the natural order of things, but today it is threatened from many quarters. Wherever we look—East or West or South—we see symptoms of a reaction against it that may engulf the spirit of free inquiry in such disaster that mankind will need another thousand years to rescue it.

Science began and continued its triumphant career within the framework of a particular way of life, a framework that we are apt to take for granted, forgetting how much it may have been responsible for the qualities of mind that made the great scientists. But the applications of science have modified and are modifying this way of life, and there are tendencies in our society which threaten to destroy the conditions necessary for science.

The modern age is characterized above all by the progress of science and democracy. The two movements spring from a common root—respect for the dignity of man as an intelligent being—and have two features in common. Both represent what Plato called the victory of persuasion over force, of discussion over dictation, and both are tentative and experimental, rejecting all claim to dogmatic authority or certainty. From the democratic point of view, man should submit to no control which he has not himself created and cannot modify to suit his purposes; and the scientist regards every conclusion at which he arrives as provisional, a step toward, not the attainment of, final truth.

During the present century the presuppositions of both science and democracy have been challenged and are called on to defend themselves. The reasons for this, however, are not to be found in either science or democracy but in two other developments which have characterized the modern age since the application of scientific knowledge—technology and industrialism. These developments have produced a state of affairs that could destroy the scientific spirit to which they owe their origin. The results of pure science are wholly good, but we should not distinguish too sharply between pure and applied science or between the roles which intellectual curiosity and practical interest in the well-being of mankind have played in the development of modern science.

The modern age opened with a new attitude toward knowledge, regarding it not as something to be contemplated and enjoyed but as power to be used for the welfare of men. And it is to the power over his environment which it placed at man's disposal that science mainly owes its present prestige. The miracles of the modern world—motor cars and airplanes, radio and television—all derive from science; and for the mass of mankind they constitute its justification. If the great achievements of science were used wisely, and if steps were taken to prevent a disproportionate increase in population, they could free the mass of mankind from degrading drudgery and add much to the amenities of living. But the dangers and discomforts that have come in their train have been equally great—high explosives and atom bombs, the squalor of urbanization, the exploitation of man by man—and it is of these that men have become painfully conscious during the twentieth century. In point of fact, the knowledge that science brings and the power that its application gives to man are morally neutral; they can be used either for good or for evil. But after learning by bitter experience that they are not always used wisely, men have reacted not only against the freedom to misuse them but against freedom in general.

This reaction is in part at least the result of a twofold confusion. First, there is a confusion between science and the results of its application, and consequently a failure to distinguish between the freedom which is a necessary condition of scientific discovery and the control which has to be exercised over the applications of science if they are to contribute to the welfare and not to the undoing of men. Second, there is the confusion between what science does and does not profess to do. Men had expected too much of science—not only knowledge and power but the wisdom to use it rightly. But science is concerned with facts not with values; and so it cannot justify anything, even its own activity, still less the purposes for which it is used. This is true of the social as well as of the physical and biological sciences. If we are to conceive of or achieve a coherent and desirable way of life, however, we must take account of both facts and values. Our most stubborn problems are those in which both are involved, and our chief difficulties today seem to arise from discrepancies in our values rather than from our ignorance of facts.

The ordinary man desires certainty and mental security. Much in his environment leads him to believe that there exists somewhere a body of fixed truth to be accepted as

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final. The resistance offered to the scientific attitude by our habits and expectations, natural and induced, has been greatly intensified by the changes which scientific techniques have introduced into the modern world. On the one hand, quicker means of communication and transport have brought men of different nations and races into more intimate contact and increased their mutual dependence. On the other, effective use of scientific techniques requires that the units of economic and industrial organization become ever larger and more complex. As a result, the individual to whom science and democracy promised a greater mastery over his environment finds himself dependent and powerless, and it is hard for him to feel that his life or his work is significant.

IN HUGE organizations—industrial or political—few men have the opportunity to exercise initiative, take responsible decisions, or control much even of their own behavior. Planning on a large scale, involving the command of men, becomes essential; the experience of the nineteenth century showed that unless we took steps to control the results of technology, they would control us. But planning, while necessary, has its dangers; the planner, and especially the administrator of the plan, may become the foe of freedom. The legislator, the organizer, the administrator, whether industrial or political, is apt to forget that all plans and all forms of organization are means, not ends in themselves, that every plan has its price and that the price may be too high. One of the main problems of our time is how to guard against the possible tyranny of administrators who identify their purposes with the good of the community and regard all dissent as disloyalty.

There is another major difficulty. Even if a plan is good and its administration wise, it takes time and patience and experiment to adjust our habits of thinking and feeling to it. The rapidity of change which is so characteristic of recent times makes adaptability and initiative more necessary but more difficult than at any previous period. Flexibility, open-mindedness, responsiveness to new ideas are needed more than they ever were before. The man of fixed ideas and habits is today a public danger.

The result of the tensions, disharmonies, and incoherences in our way of life is a sense of frustration and futility. The scientist is deeply disturbed by the use that is made of his discoveries, by the failure to deal with their unforeseen consequences, by the secrecy which interferes with his work. The ordinary man is made unhappy by the contradiction between the mastery of his environment promised by science and democracy and his actual helplessness, between his emotional and social provincialism and the universality of science and industrial organization. The mind of modern man seeks unity and coherence. But there is little unity or coherence in his life. His different interests conflict, his allegiance is divided, he is not at peace with himself or his environment. He is therefore uneasy and afraid.

Symptomatic of this condition is the tendency toward authoritarianism, the revolt against reason, the distrust of the intelligence. Since the heretic, the non-conformist, the man who demands reasons is uncomfortable about this state of affairs and makes other people uncomfortable too, those who prefer ease to liberty are apt to regard him as revolutionary, a disturber of the peace, and to turn on him with impatience and resentment. Yet the critic, the dissenter, the man who fearlessly seeks and speaks the truth should be not only tolerated but encouraged. Toleration should not be regarded as indulgence of error but as a method of arriving at truth and a safeguard against mistakes. Our fathers applied this principle in many spheres and found that it worked. In our parliamentary form of government we have a ministry and an opposition; in our legal system, we have a counsel for the prosecution and a counsel for the defense; and

The Greater Risk

God knows, there is risk in refusing to act till the facts are all in; but is there not greater risk in abandoning the conditions of all rational inquiry? Risk for risk, for myself I had rather take my chance that some traitors will escape detection than spread abroad a spirit of general suspicion and distrust which accepts rumor and gossip in place of undismayed and unintimidated inquiry. I believe that that community is already in process of dissolution where each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy, where non-conformity with the accepted creed, political as well as religious, is a mark of disaffection; where denunciation, without specification or backing, takes the place of evidence; where orthodoxy chokes freedom of dissent; where faith in the eventual supremacy of reason has become so timid that we dare not enter our convictions in the open lists to win or lose. Such fears as these are a solvent which can eat out the cement that binds the stones together; they may in the end subject us to a despotism as evil as any that we dread; and they can be allayed only in so far as we refuse to proceed on suspicion, and trust one another until we have tangible ground for misgiving. The mutual confidence on which all else depends can be maintained only by an open mind and a brave reliance upon free discussion. I do not say that these will suffice; who knows but we may be on a slope which leads down to aboriginal savagery. But of this I am sure: if we are to escape, we must not yield a foot in demanding a fair field, and an honest race, for all ideas.—*From an address by Judge Learned Hand before the eighty-sixth convention of the University of the State of New York, Albany, October 24, 1952.*

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so on. In authoritarian systems, on the other hand, we get one-party government, and if there is a counsel for the defense in the courts he does not play much of a part. Of course not all nonconformists are men of insight and vision; often they are unmindful that they have duties as well as rights. But even if ninety-nine of them be fools, or worse, it is worth while putting up with them for the sake of the hundredth.

And what is the alternative to tolerating the heretic? It is to silence or suppress him. He can be suppressed by putting him in a den of lions or a concentration camp or a gas chamber, but that may not destroy his ideas. The only effective way of dealing with him is to persuade him that he is wrong; it is to answer not silence him. And if we cannot answer him because there is no answer to give, then we must accept his criticism even if it hurts. Failure in tolerance is evidence of an ultimate lack of faith in the soundness of our beliefs, in the value of our way of life, and in the intelligence of our people. Those who are intolerant of criticism seem to forget that the men who first promulgated the ideas to which they demand conformity today were once innovators, critics, heretics, and that today's nonconformists may be their real followers, while those who turn their doctrines into dogmas and seek to impose them by totalitarian methods betray their spirit.

The function of the heretic and critic, then, is to force us to keep examining and testing, revising and perfecting our beliefs and ideals. His attitude is the attitude of science, whose conclusions are always on trial. And this is the only sure safeguard against error and degeneration. It has performed an indispensable part in the slow progress of mankind toward civilization; and the day it is no longer allowed to perform that function stagnation will set in, and freedom and science and all they stand for will decay and die.

C.V.P.—Struggle for Control

BY DAVID G. FARRELLY

Los Angeles

A UNIQUE development is under way in California. The state is proceeding with plans to buy the Central Valley Project from the federal government. This idea of states' rights being achieved by direct purchase is something new. The scheme also adds a new twist to the continuing controversy over public power.

Most of the major hydroelectric-power projects in the country have been undertaken by the federal government rather than by the states chiefly because our large river basins comprise more than one state. Some of them even touch foreign countries, as the St. Lawrence and the Rio Grande. Thus several states must act in concert or the federal government must carry the ball alone.

California's Central Valley, however, lies entirely within the state. It contains one-third of the state's area—a territory equal in size to Illinois. From the high ranges of the Sierra Nevada some fifteen rivers flow westward into the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers. These two river valleys make up the Great Central Valley.

Twenty years ago the voters of California authorized a bond issue of $170,000,000 for the Central Valley Project, which was to conserve the abundant water supply of the north and divert it to the San Joaquin Valley in the central part of the state. When money became scarce during the depression, California turned to the federal government for help. Since 1937 the Bureau of Reclamation of the Department of the Interior has had the Central Valley Project under its wing. At a cost of some $750,000,000, borne by the United States Treasury, dams, reservoirs, pumping plants, canals, channels, and power-generating units have been constructed in an integrated pattern. Even now the project is only partially completed, but California's critical problems of water and power shortage have been greatly alleviated by the largess of the federal government.

From the beginning there have been serious differences of opinion about various features of the project. Not everyone has approved its multiplicity of purpose—irrigation, water supply, flood control, navigation, electricity, fish hatcheries, bird refuges, recreation facilities. There has been sectional conflict—between the northern and southern parts of the valley over equitable distribution of the water. Individual landowners have resented encroachments by the Bureau of Reclamation. Federal agencies have competed for development funds: the Reclamation Bureau and the Army Corps of Engineers fought for seven years over which was to build a reservoir at Pine Flats on the Kings River.

The necessary amount of federal control has been a constant source of controversy. Federal policy has historically favored family-size farms and having set a 160-acre limitation on holdings has restricted an unmarried farmer to the purchase of sufficient water to irrigate a holding of that size. This 160-acre limitation has been frequently challenged. In August, 1952, a California court held that it could not be applied in the state. Public

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versus private ownership of power has been another issue. Until a few years ago the Central Valley Project was bitterly fought by the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, one of the nation's largest private utilities; but now the company has decided to buy and transmit the project's power.

IN 1951 the ever-extending federal grasp roused the state government to action. Governor Earl Warren's administration decided at long last to enter the field of water and power. It therefore sought and obtained legislative approval of the Feather River development, designed to transfer water from the northern part of the state to the far southern counties, below the Tehachapi Mountains. This brought a third party into the contest between the Bureau of Reclamation and Pacific Gas for control of water and power resources. Persons who had objected to duplication of effort now saw triplication in the offing. More serious, of course, was the problem of integrating federal, state, and private agencies.

The state's determination to enter the arena was made even clearer when the legislature in its 1952 session appropriated $10,000,000 for a study of the feasibility of buying the Central Valley Project. The Republican state convention approved the legislative appropriation and encouraged the development of a plan to acquire the project. The Democrats neither approved nor disapproved the purchase but wanted proof that the plan would not hamper the orderly completion of other water-power projects and that the state would deliver water to farmers at a price as low as that charged by the federal government. California's proposal to purchase Central Valley may well be based on a genuine desire to own and control its water resources. But curiously enough the traditional enemies of public ownership favor the plan, motivated apparently by a reluctant preference for state rather than federal control.

In September a state-wide organization known as the Committee for California Ownership of the Central Valley Project was formed to further the purchase plan. The prime movers were representatives of six farm, water, and trade associations. One of these six is the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, which twenty years ago opposed the project when it came before the electorate for approval. Now, together with the California Chamber of Commerce, it favors state ownership. The new committee is urging that the purchase be financed by means of revenue bonds which would be repaid from the project's future earnings.

As matters stand today, the California Water Project Authority, a state agency, is studying the proposal that the state buy the Central Valley Project. It has already voted to use some of its initial $10,000,000 fund to pay a staff of experts to work on the problem. Personnel of the Authority expect no opposition from the federal government. Oscar Chapman, outgoing Secretary of the Interior, has indicated that he approves state acquisition if certain conditions are met. Presumably Chapman wants assurance that the vast project will be completed and some guaranty that the benefits now provided under federal control would be retained under state ownership. The state Water Power Authority has already consulted the incoming Secretary of the Interior, Douglas McKay, who is quoted as saying that he must have all the facts before making a decision. McKay is regarded, however, as a states' righter, having been extremely outspoken against federal administration of water-power projects. So after January 20 the purchase plan may shift into high gear.

The decision to buy the Central Valley Project will eventually be made by the legislature or the voters. Many problems must first be solved. Is it better to finance the purchase by issuing bonds or by direct contract with the federal government? Is the state able fiscally to take over Central Valley and at the same time proceed with the construction of the billion-dollar Feather River project? Will Congress slow down or cease entirely its allocation of reclamation funds to California? Friends of public water and power developments are alert to the worst possibilities. State governmental machinery is usually more open to pressure than federal. Low-priced water and power may be at stake. Joe C. Lewis, former assemblyman of Kern County, has warned that state acquisition would increase the cost of electricity by 59 per cent. Another critic has pointed out that the state would sell power to Pacific Gas and Electric, which would then seek permission to raise its rates.

It is significant that the California Central Valley Flood Control Association recently objected to power contracts then being negotiated by the Bureau of Reclamation with private agencies on the ground that Central Valley electricity was being offered for sale at too low rates. According to this group, low-priced-power contracts would make it more difficult to pay off any revenue bonds issued to finance the project's purchase by the state.

California's belated interest in acquiring the Central Valley Project has come at the tag end of the Democrats' twenty-year control of the national government. Both Michael Straus and Richard Boke of the Reclamation Bureau have been controversial figures, painted by their enemies as high-handed bureaucrats. Certainly Straus will be replaced as commissioner, and possibly Boke will be eased out as regional director—although he is under civil service. It may be that a Republican Administration at Washington will provide a political climate in which local pressures will have more force and different ideas of public policy will flourish. If this is true, it may not be necessary for the pressure groups to have the state buy the Central Valley Project after all.

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BENEDETTO CROCE: 1866-1952

BY FRANCES KEENE

CROCE'S life spanned almost a century, and his name, known to hundreds of thousands throughout the world who have never read his works, is synonymous with contemporary thought. For he raised the burning issue of our age—the essential nature of human freedom.

When he first started to publish, gentility, understood as remoteness from mundane concerns, was part of the barrage of mystification with which most "thinkers" were surrounded. Croce brought philosophy out into the open, humanized it, loosed it in the arena of everyday reality, introduced it into historical judgment, political morality, literary criticism. He was convinced that man could no longer afford to remain voluntarily out of contact with that immense creative vitality of the spirit which, in the nineteenth century, formalism and positivism were doing their best to throttle.

From the start he had no patience with rhetoric, theological absolutes, or the expedient hypocrisy of materialism —his trail-blazing critique of historical materialism and economic Marxism dates from 1900. In fact, impatience with things as they are was always a distinguishing characteristic. Croce felt instinctively, and often expressed the conviction, that spiritual impatience insures man's freedom: without a demand for clarity there will be double-talk, confusion of ideas, conventional "freedoms" but never liberty.

Soon Croce added studies of Hegel and Vico to his evolving history of the human spirit. He took whatever healthy, living elements he found in Hegel's philosophy and filtered them through the luminous windows of Vico's historical thought. Philosophy came alive: he forced it to seek identity with immediate issues as no other thinker had done before.

With the publication of the "Aesthetics" in 1910, a new era in criticism, appreciation, and, above all, creative activity was to begin: Croce had kicked open the door, held shut by sentimental naturalism and romanticism, on the revealed world. The so-called laws which until then had bolstered and confined art did not resist his new concept of the unity of all created things. He had

Benedetto Croce

stated a clear philosophy in extremely plain language and had opened the way for an understanding of the relationship of art to the rest of life. Further, he had given criticism the means to interpret this relationship.

Croce's system culminated in his identification of philosophy with history. All his later work amplified one aspect or another of this basic theorem. He gave us a new concept of history just because he had given us first a new concept of philosophy. Philosophy was no longer a static form resolving problems in an arbitrary, final way. Instead, philosophy was history itself, ever-changing, new. "All true history is contemporary history."

The ethical fervor which pervades Croce's work made him one of the giants in education in our time. He personified the warning and revolt against those doctrines which tend, overtly or tacitly, to enslave man to a formula, yoke him to a system, depersonalize him in the mass. In this sense, though he carried within him a strong sense of country, he rejected the voluntary imprisonment of nationalism, which he regarded as a breeding ground for hatred. He was anti-absolutist, anti-totalitarian. He literally taught modern man to formulate his own concept of spiritual freedom. The political position he occupied for two generations in his own country is attributable to this fact, for even the dictatorship was constrained by world-wide moral pressure to recognize his inviolability and to accord his person respect (although Fascist thugs did sack his library).

Croce was indefatigable. His *opera omnia* are vast, and he found countless points in the cultural field where his job of breaking ground and sowing new ideas could be effective. For nearly half a century his publication, *La Critica,* represented the outpost of informed thinking. And for over twenty years, despite the vexations of the regime, he did not give an inch in carrying out the task he felt he must perform. Tireless, clear, and firm, he blasted that bitter yet ludicrous period of Italian political life with his ruthless sarcasm. The too busy empire builders sought to "ignore" him, if you can use the word to describe the fear they always felt of him (the Dictator was once pushed, in an official speech, to utter the clamorous exorcism that he had never read so much as a page of Croce, but exorcism by "ignoring" was not enough). For those Italians who managed to defend their intelligence, if not their liberty, his long struggle as man and philosopher was not in vain.

In the midst of conflict Croce's moral force remained unshaken. Man's fate was his concern, and this anxiety is evident on every page. In one of the relatively recently issues of *La Critica* he

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published a note which he called the rule of life:

In the worst travail, the most hopeless depressions I have suffered or suffer now, a voice echoes within me: Do something. And so I go tenaciously doing what I must do, doing what my capacities and the education I have given myself have prepared me to do. And I am comforted and encouraged by that act. "Do something" is the advice I give, or rather transmit, because while one is doing, one is alive and keeps alive the flame of life in the world which we feel, in our moments of hopelessness and despair, is heading toward ruin. But it will not, nor can it, go to ruin, and it demands and commands that *we do something of our own* to keep it whole.

India's Independent Policy

FREE INDIA IN ASIA. By Werner Levi. University of Minnesota Press. $2.75.

INDIA'S policy of independent action in international affairs has been a puzzle to many Americans, including at times officers of the State Department, ever since Nehru outlined it on December 4, 1947. The application of that doctrine has rarely pleased our press or public; usually it has caused annoyance, frequently rising to exasperation. The principal issues on which India and the United States have disagreed have been Asian: the independence of Indonesia, which we did not support until somewhat late in the discussion; the admission of the People's Government of China to the United Nations; the action in Korea; our support of the French and Bao Dai in Indo-China, which India has viewed with disquiet though its government has taken no stand on the matter; the Japanese peace treaty drawn up in San Francisco, which India refused to sign—instead, it made a separate treaty; Israel, about which India long disagreed with us; and finally and most important, India's refusal to side with or against the United States in the cold war.

Werner Levi in a small but well-documented and well-considered book discusses India's Asian relations in order to show the environment in which they came into existence and their present direction of change. He finds that an interest in foreign affairs is in itself a new thing for the Indian public, which is only just emerging from the nationalist struggle and still has to face great and pressing domestic problems. He justly sees little basis for Asian solidarity—the general Asian opposition to Western imperialism has not been enough to produce an Asian union or even a Southern Asian political regionalism. Certain international issues, especially those involving racism or infringement upon Asian rights and prestige, have led to common Asian-Arab action in the United Nations; but others, such as the quarrel between India and Pakistan over Kashmir or the Indian mistrust of China's forward policy in Tibet, have kept Asian nations apart.

About half the book is devoted to India's position respecting communism, Communist moves in Asia, and the cold war. Mr. Levi shows that up to the present the fear of Western imperialism has had more influence on Indians than the fear of Communist imperialism, but he feels that the balance is now rapidly shifting. He says:

In consideration of India's policy toward Communist and Western imperialism, two points stand out. The first is that India is taking steps to protect herself against Communist expansionism, fear of which is a factor in all her policy. The second is that Indians are becoming more lenient in their interpretations of Western imperialism and are realizing that Asian freedoms are better served in the long run by cautious procedures which will not provide openings for Communist intervention. Communist imperialism appears to be considered the more immediate and greater threat.

The final chapter of the book is entitled India, Communism, and Democracy. Mr. Levi thinks that democracy will win and cites facts and the utterances of Indians to support his belief. It will win, he contends, on moral as well as economic grounds, and the West can help. He remarks that "Indians . . . require spiritual as well as material nourishment. The major share in fulfilling democracy's promise must be the responsibility of the Indian people themselves. But the West can tactfully and humbly assist and encourage." Mr. Levi does not present an analysis of the many hard domestic problems in India which democracy must solve if India is to accept it and reject communism, but he at least names them. His preoccupation is with the containment of communism; to this end he sees India as the most important area of struggle in Asia, and in his exposition of this theme he has made a contribution to American understanding of Asian politics.

W. NORMAN BROWN

The Mayor of Lyons

IN THOSE DAYS: BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR. Memoirs of Edouard Herriot. Translated by Adolphe de Milly. Old and New World Publishing Company. $3.75.

FEW men have won the same measure of respect and affection as Edouard Herriot. Grand old man of French politics, perennial chairman of the Assembly and Mayor of Lyons, member of the Academy, he is the perfect example of the French *petite bourgeoisie*. But there is no taint of bourgeois stodginess in him, as there

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was in Poincaré; he is generous to a fault—America will remember that he alone opposed the repudiation of the war debts—and a delicate man of letters. Less vital than Clemenceau, he is saner and kindlier.

His Memoirs, in three volumes, will undoubtedly deserve a large and sympathetic audience. I deeply regret that the start is not more auspicious. This first volume deals almost entirely with Herriot's education and with his academic career. It contains innumerable allusions to traditions and practices wholly unfamiliar to the average American reader. Herriot's nostalgic references to the literary world of sixty years ago are wilted flowers strewn on crumbling tombstones. Who in America cares about Xavier Roux, Gabriel Vicaire, Georges d'Esparbès, Edmond Haraucourt, or even Uncle Sarcey? And who even in France remembers them, except my fellow-fossils? The translator should have been guided by a poem which Herriot quotes:

Y aurait aussi du danger
à parler tout l'temps d'not' vie;
nous aurons des étrangers:
sauraient pas c'que ça signifie. . . .

There are many other poems in this book, all in French: none but thorough French scholars could enjoy these pages. And people who know France and the French langauge will be irritated by the translation. M. de Milly has verve, and even style; but his text is strewn with boners, of the "Fractured French" type, not invariably amusing. The next two volumes ought to be important: the American version should be checked by a rigorous and competent critic.

ALBERT GUERARD

"Classic" and "Romantic"

DAVID TO DELACROIX. By Walter Friedländer. Translated by Robert Goldwater. Harvard University Press. $6.

THE original German edition of this book, which was written in 1930, has gained a strong following, and its reputation has steadily grown. Most studies of French painting from the Revolution to the mid-nineteenth century follow the culture of the period in terms of two opposing tendencies, classicism and romanticism. "Such terms," says Dr. Friedländer, "are unsuitable to contrasts of style or technique, whether in painting or in literature, because they refer to different levels of aesthetic experience; the one implies an ideal of form directly or indirectly dependent upon the antique, while the other describes the mood or sentiment which a creative artist expresses through the medium of his work."

Friedländer adopts instead a broadly art-historical approach. He looks for sources in the painting of the eighteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially in the rival camps of Poussin and Rubens enthusiasts. Observing trends of style, he finds interesting parallels with the evolution of baroque out of Renaissance art, including the intervening mannerist and proto-baroque stages. Ingres, compared to Bronzino, and Prudhon, compared to Correggio, are related to the latter two phases of style; whereas Delacroix reestablished the baroque of Rubens as the prime vehicle of romantic expression in art. Estimate of the many-sided work of Géricault is left unresolved, as Géricault himself considered it to be, but the emphasis is properly placed on realism and Caravaggio as source, for Géricault leads more to Courbet than he does to Delacroix and the baroque.

Without arguing against Friedländer's thesis, it may be urged that "classic" and "romantic" do not necessarily refer to different levels of aesthetic experience. Each defined a basic attitude toward life, and the conflict between these attitudes is perhaps the major source of conflict in early nineteenth-century styles, even when they occur within the same artist, as they do in Ingres and Delacroix. In this sense classic implies something more fundamental than recollection of antiquity. It implies a yearning for stability and clarity; Cézanne exemplifies it as well as Poussin, and better than David's pseudo-classicism. Romanticism adumbrates the strange, the long ago and far away, the mysterious and the irrational—whether in violent or in sentimental vein. David's revival of the antique is therefore more romantic than classic in spirit. It is atune to Delacroix's revival of Dante and the Middle Ages. Indeed, David himself revived Dante a generation before Delacroix did, in the Death of Ugolino (1796), a little-known work which Friedländer cites.

In a text which runs to only 136 pages treatment of the major artists is necessarily summary, and some of the most interesting observations concern lesser figures. Trends of style, often compressed into polysyllabics, sometimes

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take on too much reality: the 'ism runs away with the man. Particularly convincing, however, is the treatment of conflicting elements within Ingres and Delacroix. In Ingres an archaizing trend, which was sometimes called "Etruscan," meaning early Greek, and sometimes criticized as "Gothic," constantly affected his announced attempt to assimilate Raphael and the forms of Greek and Roman art. In Delacroix the passion for Rubens was brought to measure by his passion for Raphael—and, we may add, Mozart. As theorist and clarifier, Delacroix is the very disciple of Poussin, not of Rubens. The Latin component of French culture is fundamentally opposed to baroque excess. Thus Delacroix's Rubens is as moderate as Italian baroque turns out to be after one has explored the South German variant.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Books in Brief

THE MURDER OF SIR THOMAS OVERBURY. By William McElwee. Oxford. $4.50. An almost perfect historical thriller. Overbury's poisoning by the Countess of Essex with the connivance of the Earls of Somerset and Northampton not only has the best qualities of a murder mystery but takes the reader deep into the complex and curious intrigues that centered around James I, "the wisest fool in Europe," in the days when the king's favor was the shortest cut to power.

THE GREEKS. By H. D. F. Kitto. Penguin. 50 cents. This is a charming little book, lucid, informative, nicely balanced and arranged, written with modesty, clarity, and a humor which has both its donnish and somewhat sharper aspects; the scholarship is thorough without being obtrusive. Not a few misconceptions are, courteously, cleared away; in particular, Chapter V, The Polis, is highly interesting.

RETURN TO ITHACA. By Eyvind Johnson. Thames and Hudson. $4. Everybody knows that the Odyssey is a great story, so great that it can endure even being retold as a modern novel. Mr. Johnson's version, introduced by Mark Van Doren, translated from the Swedish by M. A. Michael, is a tour de force, to be sure, but by no means tedious, in spite of some unassimilated chunks of the original material, a certain repetitiousness, and a rather dawdlesome tendency toward the close of the narrative. Mr. Johnson does not assume a superior, sophisticated, or condescending attitude toward Homer; his additions, subtractions, interpretations, and even evasions have some dignity, and his account is credible and readable.

AFRICAN FOLKTALES AND SCULPTURE. Folktales Selected and Edited by Paul Radin in Collaboration with Elinore Marvel. Sculpture Selected by James Johnson Sweeney. Published for Bollingen Foundation by Pantheon Books. $8.50. The labors of anthropologist and art critic are here combined in a magnificent publication. The 165 plates are much the finest available in any book on African Negro sculpture. Like the sculpture the eighty-one folktales, ranging from high myth to humorous anecdote, indicate an impressive degree of cultural sophistication and keen observation of human behavior. Despite the increase of knowledge and understanding of African art in recent years, the bronze and terra cotta heads from Ife (Nigeria) still stand out as artistic miracles rivaling the best in Greek, Gothic, and Cambodian sculpture.

PORTRAIT OF THE OLD WEST. By Harold McCracken. McGraw-Hill. $10. A generous collection of examples, in color plates, black and white, and line cuts, of the record in art of life on the Great Plains and in the Rockies from the first known picture of a buffalo—a woodcut of 1553—to Frederic Remington's last painting before he died in 1909. The illustrations are supplemented by brief but informed and intelligent biographical accounts of the thirty-odd artists whose work is reproduced and by an inclusive check-list of other artists who worked in the West. From the first half of the nineteenth century the Indian work of Catlin, Bodmer, and Wimar stands out; later Bierstadt and Moran develop the possibilities of romantic landscape; and the Old West goes off the scene in the action and genre pieces of Russell, Schreyvogel, and Remington. These artists and their fellows produced work of impressive documentary value, and some of them work of considerable artistic value. But to the lay eye at least the one original genius of the Western scene was the visionary Blakelock, whose obscure wanderings in the West led—how or why eludes Mr. McCracken's research as it has eluded that of others—to the remarkable metamorphosis of style that set him in a class by himself. At any rate Blakelock's haunted West of the inner eye seems the most lasting memorial in art of the great national episode whose iconography Mr. McCracken's book so admirably illustrates.

THE SELECTED PROSE OF BERNARD SHAW. Selected by Diarmuid Russell. Dodd, Mead. $6.50. Considerably more than half of Shaw's published work is non-dramatic prose, and the thousand pages of it in this volume provide a mere sample. Another anthologist might have wanted to give more specimens of his author's sheer comic exuberance and delightfully ingenious unreason, but there are solid sections from the early novels, the critical writings, and the sociological treatises. Besides being good reading in themselves, many are indispensable to an understanding of the paradoxes of Shaw's thought.

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Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

I MISSED the first presentation of Molière by the company of Mme Renaud and Jean-Louis Barrault and had to wait for the second. So it came about that I had my last sight of the troupe in what is, all things considered, its pièce de résistance. I would not have had it otherwise, for the performance was a fitting climax to a display of the arts of the theater whose like we shall probably not see again until the company comes for another visit.

It is a commentary on the state of our own theater and on the "greatest" city in the world that I have seen practically no performances of Molière (which is as if my Parisian counterpart had seen scarcely any of Shakespeare). I can't therefore make comparisons. I can only say that these performances of "Amphitryon" and "Les Fourberies de Scapin" seemed to me authentic in spirit, that they were beautiful to see and to hear, that they were utterly free of the stale air, the breath of condescension, that suffuses most revivals and yet were admirable as the period pieces they must, to a point, be. Period pieces. Yet what could be more "topical" than the jealousy of Amphitryon, the puzzlement confounded of the lovely Alcmene as portrayed by Mme Renaud, the practical fatalism with which the simple Sosie resigns himself even to the "fact" that somebody else is himself? As for the stupid Argante, the greedy Géronte, their lovesick sons, and the wily and incorrigible manipulator Scapin in "Les Fourberies," you know them all—only here they appeared not in business suits but in costumes and postures molded, with the fixative exaggeration of art, to their motives and behavior.

I was afraid that Barrault as Scapin might exaggerate too much—the temptation is great. To my taste he did not, and once more his dancer's control and use of his body had much to do with the force and beauty of his characterization. Knute Rockne used to make his football players go to the ballet. Ballet instruction should be part of every actor's training. (The effect it might have on opera singers is something to dream about.)

The décor of both plays was handsome, functional, and simple—and again patently inexpensive. As for the costumes, Mme Renaud's as Alcmene was properly glamorous and chic, the two Amphitryons were dressed to the nines in elegance, Jupiter appeared as a blaze of gold. In "Les Fourberies" Argante (Stupidity) was padded to be gross and was grossly dressed, Géronte (Greed) was a carefully shaped grotesque, tightly fitted—the better to display the legs bowed as if from the weight of money bags. Scapin was all lightness—white stripes on gray, white cap and shoes. There was a touch of the circus in the two acrobats who came on briefly now and then, but this note was not insistent. The servant Sylvestre was very much, perhaps too much, the lout and clown. Nérine, nurse of one of the girls, bent double and copiously weeping each time she appeared, was another farcical figure. The two girls looked pretty but had little to do. Zerbinette (Simone Valère) had her scene with Géronte and did it beautifully. Hyacinthe's scene with her lover, in which the innocent young girl displays a high degree of practicality, was missing.

"The Children's Hour" (Coronet Theater), which I did not see when it was first produced, struck me as the imaginary, clinically perfect case history which a specialist in the motives and behavior of children might draw up for the instruction of parents or students. As case study this examination of the child as monster has its fascination; it is also instructive. As play, it is well written and very well put together, but it is neither genuinely convincing nor genu-

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mely moving, not only because the child, Mary, is all monster but also because the behavior of the grown-ups and of Mary's child slave, Rosalie, is too perfectly, too predictably, suited to the monster's purposes. It is entirely possible that the child, the grown-ups, and the other children would make any one or several of the crucial and cruel moves that are made in the course of the play. What is unlikely is that the monster's course would be so consistently complemented and furthered by the reactions of every other human being she has to deal with. The sense of contrivance enters in very early, and once it enters in one watches the proceedings with horror—as Miss Hellman intended —but it is the horror that might be inspired not by human tragedy but by a grand guignol.

The part of the child is well played by Iris Mann. Katherine Emmett as the grandmother, Mary Finney as the flighty trouble-making aunt, Janet Parker as the child slave of the monster, and Patricia Neal as the tortured Martha Dobie are all excellent. Kim Hunter has the defensive and rather static role of Karen Wright. She is not very effective, but neither is the role.

The sets are good. So is the direction by Miss Hellman.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THE third group of Columbia recordings of the 1951 Perpignan Festival is the most exciting of all, offering as it does performances of Beethoven chamber works with Casals playing the cello. Outstanding among these is the one of the Trio Opus 97 ("Archduke"), which inevitably one compares with the historic recorded performance by Casals, Thibaud, and Cortot. Listening to that performance again one is struck by the dissimilarity of the three artists, and by how wonderfully they operate together in a performance in which Casals's powerful tone and phrasing dominate the more delicate playing of Thibaud and Cortot. Listening then to the new recording one hears playing by Alexander Schneider and Eugene Istomin which has less grace and more force than Thibaud's and Cortot's, and one hears even this playing dominated by the increased power of Casals's tone and phrasing; but one hears again a wonderful working together of the three artists in a performance in which the first movement is more majestic, the great slow movement more profoundly reflective, the finale more brilliantly energetic.

After this it is astounding to hear on another record the delicacy of Casals's playing in an enchanting performance of the engaging Trio Opus 1 No. 2; and on a third record the similar reduced scale of his playing in beautiful performances of the uninteresting Trio Opus 11 and the infrequently heard Trio Opus 70 No. 2, one of Beethoven's occasional pieces in a less usual style, and quite charming.

On one side of the fourth record is the Sonata Opus 5 No. 2, with its impressive slow introduction to the engaging but excessively long first movement, and an engaging finale; on the other side are the two sets of variations on themes from "The Magic Flute." In the sonata Casals's magnificent playing is heard with pallid, characterless playing by Serkin; but the variations stimulate Serkin to a more satisfying degree of energy.

And the bonus record for those who buy the entire group offers a few minutes of a rehearsal of the Bach A minor Violin Concerto, in which one hears Casals achieve by vocal demonstration the kind of phrasing that is so exciting in the playing of the orchestral part—phrasing in accordance with his explanation to the orchestra: ". . . Every note is variety—this is what gives life —otherwise it's something dry . . ."

Surfaces, I regret to say, are gritty.

Another notable Columbia release is Beethoven's sixteen string quartets and Great Fugue played by the Budapest Quartet. The recording was done not in Columbia's New York studio but in the Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Auditorium of the Library of Congress in Washington; and this made it possible for the musicians to use the Stradivarius instruments of the Gertrude Clarke Whittall Foundation. I wish I could report the hundred per cent success that the company's effort and the performances' excellence deserved; but actually, although the recorded sound doesn't have the ear-lacerating sharpness of the Budapest Quartet recordings of recent years, the cello sounds dry and hard (even with the necessary stepped-up bass), the violins sound edged and not agreeable, and the over-all sound is the worse for the terrific echo of the empty auditorium.

Comparing some of the performances with the ones of the same works on Victor records of fifteen years or more back, I have been struck first by the more beautiful recorded sound of the old performances—the warmth and richness of the lower strings, the sweetness of the violins. That sweetness is a reproduction of the sweetness which Roisman's tone actually had in those years, and which it hasn't had in recent performances at the Y. M. H. A. This is a deterioration in the performances that I have been aware of and written about; but now, comparing the old and new recorded performances, I have been astonished to hear with how much more fluidity, refinement of phrasing, and ensemble integration the Budapest Quartet plays today than it did fifteen years ago.

As it happens, London has issued Beethoven's Quartet Opus 59 No. 1 played by the Quartetto Italiano. The playing is fabulously beautiful; the treatment of the first movement is excessively nuanced to the point of affectation and distortion, and wrong for this

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music. The low strings are reproduced with voluminous richness and warmth; the violins without the radiance and luster they should have.

And London has issued a performance of Beethoven's Trio Opus 97 by the Trio di Trieste that is unimpressive after the Casals performance, and somewhat insensitive even considered by itself.

CONTRIBUTORS

FRANCES KEENE, who lived in Italy for many years, edited "Neither Liberty nor Bread," a documented history of Fascism as told by the opposition.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Is Salt Lake City Like Atlanta, Georgia?

Dear Sirs: I would like to question *The Nation's* comment in its issue of December 6, 1952, regarding the appointment of Ezra T. Benson. You say Mr. Benson "would seem to represent the best in the social tradition of the Mormon church, which is of course high commendation." I would like to ask if you include in this highly commended "social tradition" the flagrant race discrimination that exists in Salt Lake City?

The National Young Republican Federation held their 1949 national convention in Salt Lake City, and one would have thought it was held in Atlanta, Georgia, rather than in a "Northern state." The Oregon delegation contained one Negro, and two or three other states had Negro delegates. The convention was held in the biggest hotel in Salt Lake City, which by the way is owned by the Mormon church.

The Negro delegates were refused accommodations in the hotel and were forced to rent rooms at $10 a day in a shabby apartment house in which five persons shared one bathroom. Negroes had to ride in the freight elevators and were not allowed to eat in any restaurant in the city except the one in the Union Station. Finally, we managed to "persuade" the management of the hotel, by threatening to withdraw the convention, to allow the Negro delegates to attend the convention sessions and the *official* banquets in the hotel, but on no other occasion could they eat in the regular hotel dining-rooms. It is my understanding that the city also enforced segregation on the city buses.

Just to add a further ironic note. The Oregon delegation decided after one of the sessions to go to a Chinese restaurant. The management of the restaurant refused to admit the Negroes who were with us. Only after our Chinese delegate—he had himself had to use a subterfuge to get accommodations in the hotel—who happened to be a wealthy importer, threatened to put the restaurant out of business were our Negro delegates admitted.

It is a known fact that Salt Lake City is governed by the Mormon church and that Mr. Benson is a member of the governing body of this church. Does he represent *this* particular "tradition"? Needless to say, prior to this experience, I had a high regard for the "social tradition" of the Mormon church, but in future trips across the country I will avoid Utah until it establishes a "tradition" of equality in its treatment of persons not born with white skins.

Portland, Ore. MARGIE TAYLOR

[*Mrs. Taylor's letter sheds further light on the treatment of Negroes by the Mormons, which was first described to* Nation *readers by Lowry Nelson in the May 24, 1952, issue.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Gray Eminences

Dear Sirs: Delay in publishing my article on the Hollywood black list [*The Nation,* December 20] makes necessary this note of political clarification. The Gray Eminences of present-day America have no reason to fear communism. Their nightmare is Rooseveltism, a broad and unbeatable coalition of progressive forces of every coloration. At the time I wrote my article it seemed reasonable to hope that under so intelligent a man as Governor Stevenson, we might revive the era of F. D. R. But the philosophy of Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., which was behind the Governor, was to fight McCarthy by accepting a limited McCarthy (the black list—but only for Communists), and to fight MacArthur by accepting a limited MacArthur (the action in Korea—but not the World War III crusade against Peking and Moscow). But with the right to blacklist Communists granted, the Gray Eminences have a weapon with which they can coerce every jury, bring lawyers and judges to their knees, line up editors and teachers, jail Hisses and Lattimores, and bring the Rosenbergs to the electric chair. And it is by defending the action in Korea that the country is handed over to the biggest demagogue, the loudest-mouthed jingoist, the craziest crier of "spy"; in short, thrown to the flying-saucer mountebanks who have never brought anything but disaster in their train. Yes, the blacklisted men and women of America, and particularly those not yet blacklisted but living in daily fear of it, do indeed need a Governor Stevenson, but Governor Stevenson, though he may not know it, needs them worse than they need him.

Los Angeles GUY ENDORE

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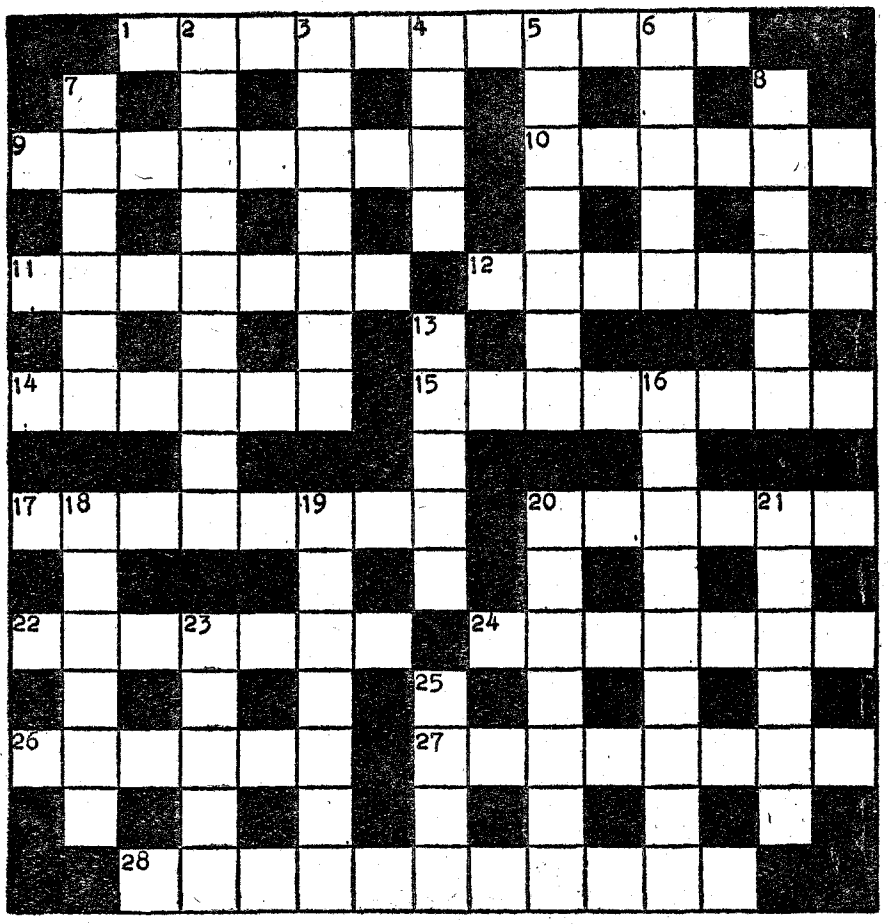
Crossword Puzzle No. 497

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 How they make a farewell speech down in the valley? (11)
9 Little brother gets a form of colic at dinner, perhaps. (8)
10 Vehicle mentioned in "Travel" and "Automobiling." (6)
11 This cheese is not back on the sort of list well-known in England. (7)
12 Lamb or horse might be. (7)
14 Time for a French-English version of Mrs. Roosevelt's column? (6)
15 Descriptive of the charmer's stock in trade. (It's little work with a Scot hid between.) (8)
17 Tennyson hoped to, with irritable counsel, perhaps. (8)
20 Gilded metal. (6)
22 Stealing a stroke? (7)
24 Suitable spot for a fag end? (7)
26 Eddie Cantor has, at least, a tribe in New York. (6)
27 This speed is practically acceptable. (8)
28 Everything repeated—with an example especially evident. (11)

DOWN

2 Shoulder raps? (9)
3 Saving a little company money, in a way? (7)
4 and 5 Painful with a cracked lip? Such skepticism! (2, 2, 2, 5)
6 18 is confused without a person of property. (5)
7 A recess, naturally? Not always. (6)
8 and 20 down Dark room? (6, 7)
13 Sort of drunk? Far from it, with those of Dutch extraction! (5)
16 After dinner this is steamed—to make it strong, perhaps? (9)
18 One war which might be expected to bring out character. (6)
19 Being as this is out of place, it shouldn't be hard to find in the Atlas. (7)
20 See 8 down.
21 Acquires information, with directions to follow the king, perhaps. (6)
23 Vessel which sounds as though it could be put away. (5)
25 The amount of land captured in the Third Crusade? (4)

—— ✻ ——

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 496

ACROSS:—1 STAGE BUSINESS; 10 GUMBO; 11 WOODCHUCK; 12 PITCH PINE; 13 REGAL; 14 AMBIDEXTROUS; 19 EDWARD GERMAN; 22 SUN-UP; 24 DEHISCENT; 25 GLISSANDO; 26 ORGAN; 27 GENERAL MOTORS.

DOWN:—2 TEMPTS; 3 GOOD HUMOR; 4 BEWAILING; 5 SHORE; 6 NICER; 7 STURGEON; 8 AGAPE; 9 SKYLESS; 15 EARTHWORM; 16 TRANSPORT; 17 MESSAGE; 18 SWAN DIVE; 20 VERGER; 21 ATONE; 23 PASTE; 24 DONNA.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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At $6.50 (including five full meals) the *Olbia's* voyage is a fair example of dream trips you can afford. And there are others—colorful journeys to exotic lands that often cost little more than your vacation at home. Trade your usual beach for a houseboat in the Vale of Kashmir, or a cruise among the lesser Caribbean islands by native trading schooner.

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• • *Chromed ocean liners and international hotels are America transplanted. For fun at budget prices, go by freighter and stay at pensions.*

• • *Make your longest hop from Europe, not directly from the U. S. Currency differentials and lower European rates can save up to 50%.*

• • *Don't go unless you're ready to plan well ahead and to shop for travel bargains.*

CARIBBEAN *There are still undiscovered* Edens at America's back door. Tobago, the Robinson Crusoe island that rivals Tahiti, where living is so cheap the Island's chief official gets only $240 a month. Or, Grenada, which, as a native described it: "Dis islan', suh, is t'ing Gahd mek from rainbo'." There, for $12 a week, you can rent a 3-bedroom house with its own private beach. Many of the best spots can be reached only by trading schooner. Go down to the waterfront at Grenada or elsewhere and bargain with dusky skippers to make your own price—keep this up and cruise all the lesser islands of this jeweled chain.

Here's a sampling of dream trips

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India. Minimum fare from New York to Ceylon, India, or Malaya is about $350. Transhipping in England, you can make the trip by luxury liner (tourist class) for $319. Go to the lotus-covered mountain lakes of Kashmir, where a furnished houseboat with four turbanned servants rents for $70 a month. Total costs for a couple run around $175 a month—in the most beautiful spot on earth.

South Seas. You can still live the life of a Tahitian beachcomber—but not in Tahiti, which has found out about the Yankee dollar. Instead, drowse on brilliant Sigatoka Beach at Suva or watch Pacific combers crash on reef-grit Norfolk or Lord Howe Islands. (You can reach the South Seas by freighter from the U. S.)

Africa. Perhaps the biggest travel bargain today is an 80-day luxury cruise around the Dark Continent, calling at a score of colorful ports like Dar-es-Salaam, for $700, round trip from Amsterdam. (You can reach Holland for $165 from the U. S.)

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Atlantic Islands. Green cones standing out of the sparkling waters of the South Atlantic—these are the Azores and the Canaries. Tropical flowers, sandy beaches, and the charm of old Spain are combined here—with rents of about $20 a month, groceries for a couple at $10 a week and servants $5 a month each.

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